
A Modest
DEFENCE
OF THE
GOVERNMENT, &c.

DEFENCE



GOVERNMENT

A Modest
 D E F E N C E
 O F T H E
 GOVERNMENT.
 In a DIALOGUE
 BETWEEN
 KINGLOVE, *an* Old Cavalier,
 AND
 MEANVELL, *a* Modern Tory.

*Written by a Sober Stander-by, who is wholly uncon-
 cern'd in the Ministry, or the Funds.*

L O N D O N,
 Printed for C. T. and Sold by all
 Booksellers. 1702.

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In a Dialogue
BETWEEN
King Love, an Old Cavalier,
AND
Merrill, a Modern Town



Written by a Gentleman, who is now in the
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A Dialogue between Kinglove, an Old Cavalier, and Meanwell, a Modern Tory.

Kingl. **G**OD save you, Sir, I am glad to see you in Health: Why are you such a Stranger of late? You were wont to come and spend an hour with me, sometimes; but now I have quite lost your good Company.

Meanw. Sir, Your Humble Servant; I have been a little extraordinarily employ'd of late, and have not been able to visit you so oft as I used. You know I have been busied in making Int'rest at the Election.

Kingl. Why, ay, I acknowledge that a just Excuse, and am sorry you miss'd it, because you are my Friend: But you must not be angry, if I freely tell you, that I think you were a little too warm last time, and therefore not quite so fit now for that Employment as you have been formerly.

Meanw. Warm, Sir! would it not make any Body angry to see none but Upstart, Little, Whiggish Fellows.

lows preferr'd, and all the Church-Party, and Ancient Gentry slighted.

Kingl. Yes, Sir, it would so; but (for the present granting your Assertion) I must take the Liberty to tell you, that according to the true old Principles of us Royalists, the general Interest of the Nation is not to be neglected; nor the King's Person affronted, on Account of Private Discontent. 'Twas the Personal Disgust the People took at the Ministry of K. *Charles I.* that began the Sedition, which in few Years grew up to open Rebellion, and ended in the most audacious Piece of Wickedness that was ever committed, I mean the Martyrdom of that Blessed Prince. And yet, let me tell you, the Complaints against that Ministry were infinitely more just, than what is now said against this. I am as much for the Support of the Church, and for keeping down the Dissenters as you can be; but, for God's sake, don't let us lay open our selves to their Reproach, by violating all our old Honest Principles: We made a Breach of 'em at the Revolution; but tho' the Necessity of Affairs excus'd that, we are not to expect, that, having a Wise and Virtuous Prince, whose Right we have all acquiesc'd in, we are at liberty to continue Loose to all our Principles of Loyalty; Or, that tho' His Majesty was not the immediate Heir, he has not nevertheless a Right to all that Duty and Loyalty which was due to King *Charles.*

Meann. Sir, I have no Exception to the King's Right, I came into his Party with the First; but I think he has deceiv'd us, and been all along advis'd
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by Men of other-guess Kidneys than those that brought him in: 'Twas the Church-Party did that, and yet none but Fanaticks have shar'd his Favours ever since.

Kingl. I remember very well you did go into the Prince of *Orange* with the First, and I remember also that I have had many Discourses with you upon that Subject. Now I did not come in till the last; for as long as King *James* was in Possession of any part of his Dominions, and as long as he continued with any Power about him, whereby I might hope he would be able to protect me, I did not withdraw my Allegiance from him; nor ever own'd the Prince of *Orange* for King, till after the Battel of the *Boyne*, and Surrender of *Limerick*; because, till then, I saw my Lawful Prince endeavouring to come to protect me; and therefore, according to the Church-of-England Doctrine, I was bound to pay Obedience. But I confess I could not believe, that after that Prince had quitted all, I was bound to continue to expose myself and Family to Ruine, rather than pay Obedience to a Prince that not only protected us, but also maintained all the Laws. But when I did come into King *William's* Party, I did it heartily, with all that Duty and Loyalty which I, and all my Ancestors, ever profess'd and practis'd to our Prince, and, by the Help of God, I shall always maintain that Fidelity. And am very sorry to see so many now depart from it, whom I knew formerly to be the best Subjects; even you, Dear Sir, whose Father I serv'd with, when we fought many bloody Battels in Defence of our King; and you, the Son, were always forward in all good Works.

Works for the King's Service, and always declar'd, the King's Faults ought by no means to be so search'd into, as to breed a Sedition in the Kingdom. Remember the many Conflicts you and I have had with our Whiggish Neighbours in the Years 1681 and 82, how strenuously you then defended the King's Authority, and the Deference due to his Person; and tho' they talk'd shrewdly, and often urg'd such Faults of the King's, that we could not defend, yet you always said those must not alter our Allegiance to the King, who was God's Vicegerent. But now you are so strangely alter'd, that I can't tell what to make of you; you are grown to make use of all those Seditious Doctrines, that you then took such Pains to answer: From which you must pardon me, if I draw this Conclusion, That having parted with your Allegiance too soon at the Revolution, it has sat loose upon you ever since; and so the Old Principles are to be forgot.

Meann. Poh, What a Rout you make with your Old Principles! I own I was always loyal to King *Charles*; but then King *Charles* took Care to support the Church.

Kingl. Very well: Then it was not out of Duty, but particular Affection, that your Respect for King *Charles* proceeded; and if he had happen'd to have chang'd his Opinion, I suppos'd you wou'd have chang'd your Loyalty.

Meann. Yes, Sir, why not? Did we not do so by King *James*?

Kingl.

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Kingl. You say true, we did; but that was so very extraordinary a Case, that, till the same things happen again, it ought not to be made a Precedent. K. J. attempted to destroy the Constitution and Religion of the Nation, which were such Violations of the Office of Kingship, that it may warrant a removal of such a Person. But as nothing like that has been attempted in this Reign; and, on the contrary, His present Majesty is deservedly acknowledged the best Prince we have had for many Ages, I think we ought to shew a Universal Gratitude, and concur with him in that Generous Design of breaking the Fetters of *Europe*, by pulling down the *French* Monarchy; which, 'tis very plain, has been the Business of his whole Life: Nor has his Labour been in vain; for by his Courage, and indefatigable Industry and Zeal, the Work is in a great Forwardness. For shame let us lay aside Party, when a Matter of this great Moment lies before us, and by our hearty Union cannot fail of being effected.

Meanw. I am as ready as any body to concur in that Work; but, with Favour, I do not think we ought to be so careful for *Europe* in general, as to forget our selves in particular. What I complain of is, that Upstart little Fellows have all the Command, that the Publick Wealth has been pillag'd by Scoundrel Fellows; whereof a vast number may be found, who at the Revolution were not worth a Groat, and now Ride in their Coach and Six.

Kingl. Still you are too angry, and look not into the Bottom, and true Cause of Things. First, as to the Whiggish Party's being employ'd, I answer, That
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when the King came to the Crown, he was of neither Party, *Whig* and *Tory* did not at all affect him; and accordingly we saw the Ministry was for some Years indifferently chosen: The D. of *Leeds*, the E. of *Nottingham*, L. *Godolphin*, &c. were in the highest Places, and greatest Favour with the King; but it seems the People were not so careful in Elections as they should be, and let the other get a Majority in the House of Commons, who disliking that Ministry, oblig'd the King to change it; yet so, that in all the time of the second Ministry, notwithstanding the many Clamours now raised, I have never heard of one single Action done by 'em that could give the Church-Party a just Cause of Complaint.

Meariv. How, Sir! No Cause of Complaint, what was the bestowing all Ecclesiastical Preferments upon luke-warm Church-men? Such as would willingly lay aside the Rites and Discipline of the Church, if they were ask'd it. What was my Lord *Sommer's* displacing all the Justices and Deputy-Lieutenants all over the Kingdom, and putting in such mean Fellows, that the few Gentlemen that were retain'd, scorn'd to act with 'em?

Kingl. Why truly; if the Matter were as you state it, there were just Cause of Complaint: But, upon Examination, I believe it will appear otherwise. First, As to the Clergy; 'tis well known that the Dignities were in the Queen's Time bestow'd by her Direction: That she was careful of the true Interest of the Church, I hope no body will dispute; but if she declin'd putting Men of the highest Flight into the Bishopricks

Bishopricks and Deanaries, it was far from a Fault; for, by the way, I must tell you, such sort of Men in this Nation do more Injury than Service to the Church; for while they hold things up to the highest Extremity, they disgust the People (who must not be too roughly treated) and thereby create an Enmity to the Hierarchy. That this is true, appears from the Effect of Archbishop *Laud's* Proceedings, who tho' a very Learned, Pious Divine, was but an ill Statesman; for by his prosecuting that Maxim, *There's no End of Yielding*, the Faction was so fermented, as in a short time to utterly destroy the Church; and tho' it pleased God to restore it to its full Lustre again, I hope it may be esteem'd no false Doctrine *To beware of doing the same thing again, lest a worse evil happen unto us.* Since the Queen's Death, that Matter has been by the King committed to the Care of the two Archbishops, and four other Bishops, Men of unspotted Characters, notwithstanding the present Clamours, and who have bestowed the Preferments perhaps wiser than their Enemies would have done. For the present Bishops will take as good Care of the Rites and Discipline of the Church, as any they could put in; and tho' Blockhead, and Blunderbuss, and such sort of familiar Phrases, be the Titles they please to confer upon those who they ought to call Most Reverend, and Right Reverend, I must tell 'em that their Carriage is very unbecoming Subjects to a Magistrate, and much more of Christian Ministers to their lawful Superiours; especially since 'tis but a little while ago they themselves acknowledg'd these very Gentlemen to be Persons of great Learning and Piety, as indeed they are. As to the Prefer-

ments in the Chancellor's Gift, I am very well satisfied that my Lord *Sommers* never gave any, without Advice and Approbation of the Dioceſan; and what a Chancellor can do more, I know not. Concerning the displacing the Juſtices, I can only ſay that it began on account of the Association, which many in Commiſſion reſuſed to ſubſcribe; and I have been credibly inform'd, that the Chancellor, in all the Removals, had the Direction of the King and Council. How they came to be ſo miſinform'd of the Characters of the Perſons, I know not: but I own it was a Fault, and gave too great an occaſion of Deſection in the People.

Meanw. Well, Sir, but all this won't do: I acknowledge you talk very plauſibly; but tho' I cannot ſo fully answer you, through a want of Knowledge of the ſecret Managements, which, if we had ſat longer, the laſt Parliament would have ſearcht into, I cannot however give up the Cauſe, or believe the Miniſters were not a Pack of very wicked People. You have, I doubt not, read the Two Books of *Grants and Reſumptions*, and *Balance of Power*, and have ſeen what a Character he there gives of 'em, to which they have not yet return'd any Answer in Defence: Can we ſuppoſe they would ſit ſilent, if thoſe Charges were unjuſt? And if they be true, can any honeſt Man defend 'em.

Kingl. I have read thoſe two Books; and the firſt of 'em, I confeſs, with Approbation, and an Indignation againſt Perſons ſo wicked, as I judg'd by his Hints the Miniſters were: But the ſecond cured me,
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and remov'd my Indignation to the Writer, whom I find to be a discontented Man, and an Enemy to the Government in general: I take him also to be a bold Incendiary, more than a true Patriot; one that resolves to throw Dirt enough, that some may be sure to stick. He inveighs against the Ministers of State in General, without alledging one particular Crime; whereas if their Faults were so numerous, as he insinuates, he surely could not be unacquainted with the Particulars of some of 'em; and, in such case, his Appendix had been better fill'd up with Relations of that kind, than with a Parcel of Records to lessen the Prerogative, especially since he had threatned an *Anecdote*. But as he proves nothing, nor no body else has attempted it, I hope I may, as every honest Man ought, suspend my Judgment 'till I hear more. Nay, he spares not the King himself, whom in *Page 50* he represents as an Easie Man, that without knowing Persons or Things himself, receives the Impressions others please to put upon him. Now this is so very far from Truth, that I had no Patience when I read it; 'tis notorious that no Man in *England* is so knowing in the Affairs of *Europe*, in general, and *England*, in particular, as his present Majesty; and that his Enquiries descends to the strictest Examination of every Circumstance, relating to Persons and Things he has to do with. And this leads me to a new Subject, I mean the Partition Treaty, for which the King has been so much blam'd by that Author.

Meany. Ay, Come; What will you say to that?

Kingl.

Kingl. Why, I must say, that the People are very unjust in Treating the King so roughly on that Account; for if the Matter be fairly stated, He is not to be blam'd. As I apprehend, the Case stands thus: The People of *England* were very uneasie at the length and expence of the late War, insomuch that the King might very reasonably conclude they would not by any means, be brought to enter into another War soon; and yet if some Agreement were not made with *France*, in relation to the Spanish Succession, 'twas very plain the Peace could not last long, because the King of *Spain's* Sickness did manifestly declare, his Life would be short. 'Twas the King's business therefore, to make the best Bargain he could with them; and if it was not quite so good as it should be, we ought however, methinks, to have a little Deference to the King's Judgment, and some Indulgence to his Actions; since 'tis very certain he could not intend any thing advantageous to *France*, to whom, 'tis well known, he has always been an Enemy; nor Betray the Interest of *England* and *Holland*, to whom he has always acquitted himself with the utmost Fidelity and Honour. And therefore we must conclude they were the best Terms that could be procur'd; and what, after all, we must confess, were rather to be accepted, as things then appear'd, than a long and hazardous War.

Meann. With Submission, Sir, I must oppose you there; The Terms of that Treaty were more disadvantageous to *England*, than the War could be, for *Naples* and *Sicily* being in *French* Hands, would have given them such Power over the *Levant*, and made
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'em so formidable in the *Mediterranean*, that, in a manner, all our *Straights Trade* had been cut off; and on the other hand, by their being Masters of *Guiposcoa*, they could Invade *Spain* as they pleas'd, and especially the Province of *Biscay*, and thereby be able to deny us *Spanish Wooll*.

Kingl. 'Tis very true, the Terms of the Partition Treaty gave *France* too much Power; but the Question is, Whether, if without making that Treaty, *France* pursuing his Demands, and throwing an Army into *Spain*, he could not, in all probability, have made himself Master of it, before *Europe* could Unite to oppose him? I say, Whether, as things then stood, this was not probable? And it is but Probabilities that Men can provide against.

Meanw. No truly, I think it was not probable, because the Effect shews, that though he acquired all the Spanish Dominions without Trouble, the Emperor alone is able to give him his Hands full-

Kingl. Though it pleases God to Frown upon *France*, and Favour the Emperor with so continued a Success, it is only attributable to Divine Providence, and what could not be foreseen by Man; and therefore to argue from the Consequence, is the wrong way. Thus much is certain, That *France*, by accepting the Crown of *Spain*, has not only made all *Europe* his Enemies, but has also taken upon him the Defence of all the Spanish Dominions; a matter of no small disadvantage to him, for their Extent requires vast Armies in many remote Parts at the same time; which

which *Spain* not being able to pay; must all be Maintain'd at his Expence; and such an Expence that will be, that in all Humane probability, the Wealth of *France* must in few Years be quite exhausted; at least, unless he can get into his Hands the *American* Plate-Fleet, which, by what hitherto appears, he is never like to have. And so, instead of Agrandizing, this Act will most probably finish the Ruine of the French Monarchy, and thereby the Power of *Europe* be Reduc'd to the Ballance we have always wish'd it. Now, if this be the Consequence of the Partition Treaty, viz. That it provok'd *Spain* to give all to *France*, and *France*, by accepting it, has undertaken more than he will be able to perform, and thereby put it into the Power of the Princes of *Europe*, by a hearty Union, totally to Reduce that exorbitant Monarchy. I hope I may say it was not so ill an Act as it has been represented.

But on the other hand, let us consider what might reasonably have been the Consequence of the King of *Spain's* Death, in case the Partition Treaty had never been made. To be sure the *French* Armies would fallen into *Spain*, into *Milan*, and perhaps into the *Netherlands*. To oppose which, the *Spanish* Nation, the Emperor, and perhaps the States of *Holland* would Engage: But in all probability, *England* would have stood *Neuter*. And whether *France* would not have been too strong for those three Powers, I leave to others to judge.

Meanw. But why do you think *England* should stand *Neuter*.

Kingl.

Kingl. Because our Danger would be at a distance. And we saw last Year, that there was a Powerful Spirit in the Nation absolutely against a War, though *France* was then so very Formidable; I confess the Excuse was, *That Things were not yet ready, and we were not to begin it, &c.* But that was but Excuse, for no body desir'd we should run blindly into it, before Matters were duly Concerted; or that we should come into it in any other Capacity than Auxillaries: All that was then expected was, that we should manifest a hearty Inclination to do it when it should be proper. But no more of that, the Parliament do now vigorously pursue it, and so there needs no more Controversie on that point. Another Reason why I believe *England* would stand *Neuter* in the Case I mention'd, is, That our Debts being great, that would have been made an insuperable difficulty by those sort of Men whose Counsels kept *England Neuter* in *King Charles's* Time, when *France* was growing to that Grandeur we lately saw it, who would still, under the plausible Arguments of *What need we Fight other Mens Quarrels, and We are in no Danger,* have lull'd the People into a Lethargy. And if this should have happen'd, I make no doubt but *France* would have obtain'd at least as good (nay, I believe much better a share) in the *Spanish* Monarchy, than what the Partition Treaty gave him. In fine, if that Treaty had stood, *England* had avoided the Charge of a present War, which is what we are fond of. If it had not been made, *England* must either have entred into a War, wherein no manner of Advantages could have been expected, or else by sitting still, be contented

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tented to see *France*, in a short time, Master of at least as much as that Treaty gave him. But in the present Case, that Treaty being broken by *France*, and the *Spanish* Monarchy put into *French* Hands, has Rous'd up all *Europe* immediately to oppose him, and given us an opportunity of Entering into a War, wherein we have a fair Chance of making considerable Acquisitions in *America*. But chiefly has given *France* so much Employment, that we may reasonably hope, in a short time, to see the Power of that Nation Reduc'd to a much lower Degree, than it has been in for some Ages past. Upon all which, I must Remark, with all due Respect however to that Honourable House, that the Gentlemen of the late Parliament were unkind in pursuing that Matter so far; since we must impute the Dissolution to that Cause: For though the Prerogative of making Treaties be so essentially necessary to the Crown, that without it, the King is unable to Protect us, it was at that time Attack'd in such a manner, that the King's Character would have been much lessen'd abroad, if he had not in some Publick manner recover'd it.

Meany. Fy, fy, Sir, you are mistaken; 'twas *Sommers* and the Old Ministry, that by false Misrepresentations, prevail'd upon the King to do it; for 'tis plain by his Speech at Parting, that he was satisfy'd with what they had done.

Kingl. I cannot find that the King's Speech at breaking up of the last Parliament, will bear such Construction as you put upon it; He is always Courteous in his Speeches, and in that Thanks the House
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of Commons for what they had done; but there is not a word of his Approbation of All they had done. Nor can I grant you that the King is so easily wrought upon, as you insinuate; he has himself more Judgment than all his Councillors; and therefore you may depend upon't, that if the Carriage of the New Ministry, and the House of Commons had not given him Offence, *Sommers*, nor nobody else could have prevail'd upon him to have parted with 'em; and therefore I must tell you plainly, that you Gentlemen of the Church Party acted very imprudently; for whereas the King had thrown himself intirely into your Arms, had resolv'd to make use of none but that Party, you so order'd Matters, that in Six Months time you threw down what you had been many Years a building up; have divested your selves of all that Power you had of doing the Church Service; and though in Parliament you may hinder the Whiggish Interest from insulting over you: I fear you will hardly ever again get into the Saddle.

Meann. You are mistaken, Sir, when we come to look into the Miscarriages of the late Ministry, lay open their Rogueries, and shew how they have mis-spent the Publick Money, that Party will appear so odious, that the King will be asham'd to Protect 'em.

Kingl. I should be very glad to see the Church-Party in the Ministry, and I hope I may; but if there be no other way of getting into it, I fear 'twill be a long time first. The Stories of Cheating the
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Publick will pass a little with the Vulgar, but Men that think, and are able to Reason on things, can believe nothing of it. Have not the Publick Accounts been Annually Examin'd by Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament Year after Year, from the Revolution to the Conclusion of the Peace: Were not Mr. *Harlay*, Mr. *Bromley*, and Col. *Granville* in that Commission? And can we believe that these Gentlemen would neglect so important a Business, especially when they were so well paid for it? If there had been any misapplications of Money, do you think they would not have inform'd the House of Commons with it? Or if that House stifled such Informations, do you think they would not have laid 'em before the Succeeding Parliament, or that that last sat? Undoubtedly, or else I am sure they do not deserve that Honourable Character they bear. Besides, consider but the Nature of the *Exchequer* where the Accounts are kept with the greatest exactness imaginable; not by one Man, or in one Office only, but the same Account passes through several Offices, which serve as a Cheque upon one another; insomuch, that there is not a single Shilling paid by the Subject to the King, but you may Trace it from the Tax-Gatherer to the Issue from the *Exchequer*; and know exactly to whom, and to what Purposes it was paid. Again, all the Taxes given in this Reign, have been appropriated; and the Tellers and Clerks in the *Exchequer*, obliged upon great Penalties, to pay it only to the Purposes given for: Now, can it be believ'd, that a Commissioner of the *Treasury*, or an Auditor of the *Exchequer*, or any other great Officer,

cer, can so influence a Teller, or Under-Clerk, that he should hazard his own Ruin, nay Life, to let him Cheat the Publick? Or if by mutual Connivance such a thing should be acted, would not the other Officers discover it? And in short, must it not, upon Inspection, be presently discover'd? Or would it be possible to be long a Secret? No, no, believe me, no such thing can be Practic'd at the *Exchequer*; the Books lie open continually, and any body may see how much is come in upon every Fund; and see what Tallies are discharg'd, in order to know if their own be in Course. The General Receivers Charge the *Exchequer* with all they Pay in. The Officers of the *Custom-House* and *Excise-Office* know very well how much is sent in every Week: And, in short, all the Branches of the Revenue are to the *Exchequer* as Debts are to a Creditor; every one must discharge its self of the Money the People deposite in their Hands, and there again you may as easily find how it is paid out.

Meann. I don't doubt, but the Methods of the *Exchequer* are Regular; but for all that, there must be some secret way for its Officers to get Money, or else how should they become so Rich as they do?

Kingl. Without Cheating the Publick; the Officers of the *Exchequer* may grow Rich; for if you consider that their Officers are like Trades-Mens Shops, where the more Custom makes the heavier Purse: You must allow that the vast Summs that have passed through the *Exchequer*, in this Reign, has

has given those Clerks four times the Employment they had formerly; and tho' some of the Taxes have been exempted from Fees, enow remain to make their Places abundantly more profitable than formerly. 'Tis the same Case in all other Offices where Receipts and Payments are manag'd. The usual and lawful Fees must necessarily amount, in the War-time, to four times what they were formerly.

Meanw. Then belike you think the Publick Money has not been imbezzel'd.

Kingl. I do think so, because 'tis next to impossible it should be: For, as I said before, all the Money given by the Parliament was appropriated to particular Uses; and whether it has been applied to those Uses, is so easily discovered by the Exchequer-Books, that there is no room to doubt of any Default. The Civil List was so ill provided for in the War-time, that the King had very little Money to dispose of; and since the Establishment of it, the Summ was so exactly proportion'd to the Occasions, that there is no room for any body else to have part of it. Every Branch of the Revenue has by Act of Parliament been apply'd to Publick Uses, and nothing has been left to the King's Disposal, but the Forfeitures, and the Prize-Office: The former, in *Ireland*, have been resumed from the Grantees; And the latter yielded so little, that the Favourites could not grow very rich from it, tho' I confess some Grants are seen in that Account. And how much the Grants of Forfeited Estates

states in *England* amount to, has not been yet discover'd: But whatever they be, those are all the King has been able to give his Favourites; and whether they amount to so much as is imagin'd, lyes in the Power of the Parliament to examine.

Meanw. But, Pray, answer me two Questions? How comes it to pass then that so many little People, that have been employ'd in underling Posts in the Ministry, are become so exceeding wealthy? And, since the Parliament always gave so freely to the Publick Service, How comes the Nation to be so much in Debt?

Kingl. The Answer to your first Question depends upon the Answer to the second; and therefore I will begin with that: The Nation is so much in Debt, because the greatest part of the Money given, was upon Funds that were to come in in three or four, or more Years time; but the King having present Occasion for the Money, Tallies were immediately struck for the whole Summ, and given in Payment to the Victuallers of Ships, Cloathers of the Army, or others; whence proceeded two Evils; that is, 1st, Those Sellers being to be so paid, rated their Goods at a much greater Price than they would sell 'em at to a private Person; and 2dly, The Nation paid Interest for those Tallies till they were paid, and yet they bore such a Disesteem, that no man could procure Money upon 'em, without allowing a very great Discount, even 30, 40, nay, some were sold at 50 *per Cent.* loss. Now consider how much the Nation paid extraordinary for Goods, *viz.* at least a third part in the Price, and, perhaps,

perhaps, a fourth part more in Interest, and you will not wonder we are in Debt. And from hence arose that other Evil you mention'd; for the Under-Ministers who saw how the People were fain to sell their Tallies, and knew, or could guess pretty well, how far such Funds would pay, had an Opportunity of laying out what Money they had, or could borrow, to a very great Advantage; but this Trade is too well known for you to be ignorant of it. But I must remark, that it was not only the Ministers that got Money this way, but great numbers of Bankers, Scriveners, Jobbers, and some Gentlemen; but fewer of this sort, because they had not Courage to venture their Money; or because, not living at *London*, they were unacquainted with the Method of it; which makes them envy the sudden Rise of those little Fellows, who by plying diligently between the Exchange and the Exchequer, made a shift to raise mighty Fortunes, and yet did no body wrong.

Meanw. I am too sensible of this; but can you say that this Evil did not arise from the ill Management of the Ministry, who invented remote Funds on purpose to get an Opportunity to enrich themselves, and to keep the Publick always in Distress, that they might pretend new Merits, by new Projects, to provide Money for the Publick Service.

Kingl. The Debt began so early (even the first and second Years of this Reign) that I can hardly think it was Contrivance. It seems rather Accident, and an unacquaintedness at first of the Charge of a War, or a Care of not displeasing the People at first with too much

much Taxing, that made the Parliament give but One Shilling in the Pound the First Year, and Two Shillings the Second Year, tho' the Reduction of *Ireland*, and the War against *France*, were both on our hands at that time.

However it was, whether by Design or Accident, 'tis certain a large Debt was contracted in the First and Second Years, and increased in the Third, which made us labour under the Load of Int'rest and Discount, for all the remaining Years of the War. It may as well be said, that the Ministers invented the Projects (that is, Annuities, Lotteries, Banks, *East-India Company*, &c.) to save the charging so much upon the Nation at once, which indeed was too much for it to bear; and therefore tho' we condemn 'em, now our Turn is served, I remember very well we applauded 'em when we wanted 'em: And the Argument, *That Posterity would reap an Advantage from this War, and therefore Posterity ought to pay part of the Charge of it*, was then thought a very good one.

Mean. I confess you beat me out of all my Holds, and argue so plausibly that I should agree with you, if I did not see so many wise and eminent Men of contrary Opinion; who all with one Voice condemn the late Ministry, declare all our Misfortunes, the length of the late War, and the Debts now lying upon us, are all owing to their Mismanagement.

Kingl. I confess I have a respect for those Gentlemen, and would pay a great Deference to their Judgments in any thing where the Publick Peace were not

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at Stake : But there appears to me so much Passion and Prejudice in all they say, that I cannot side with them till my own Judgment be convinc'd. I am not at all concern'd in the Vindication of the late Ministry ; if they have done amiss, let 'em be punish'd o' God's Name ; all I plead for is to do it regularly, Try first, and then Hang, if they deserve it ; but 'till Faults be prov'd, I am oblig'd both as a Christian, and as a Subject, to believe 'em innocent. I, and every body else, ought to have so much Respect to the King, as to believe he would not employ such wicked Men as these Reports make 'em. Moreover in Common Sense we ought not to talk at this Rate ; for if you expose the Ministers of State to the Censure of the Rabble now, you must believe they will take the same Liberty, tho' these Gentlemen that now set 'em on, should be advanc'd to those Posts. In short I am utterly against all such Proceedings ; and I am sure what I now say, is what our Party always said ever since I knew the World. I confess indeed we talk'd somewhat freely of King James's Ministers (tho' not to the Degree we do now a-days) But I hope there is no Comparison in the present Case ; There the Ministers committed the greatest Crimes Barefac'd, and yet were so protected, that there was no possibility of punishing 'em ; Here the Crimes are but suggested, and the Law open, Parliaments, as freely chosen as ever were in *England*, sit every Year ; nay, to prevent Corruption, are new chosen every Third Year ; to whom Complaints may be freely made, and 'tis apparent they are ready to punish any Crimes that can be objected against the biggest Minister.

Meanw.

Meanw. But pray tell me, Sir, If the Ministers are innocent, why don't they vindicate themselves? Methinks the Charge against 'em, in the Dialogues between *Whiglove* and *Double*, and other Books, is so severe, that if they had any thing to say for themselves, we should, to be sure, have heard it before now.

Kingl. I told you before it is not my Business to vindicate them, I argue only for the Publick Peace, and Old Church-of-*England* Loyalty. But to give you my Opinion upon what you propose, I must impute it to the King's wise Moderation, who rather chuses to give way to Popular Clamour, and so let it spend it self, than by opposing it hazard the blowing up a Flame that might destroy us all. And, to speak the Truth, if my old Master of Blessed Memory, King *Charles* the First, had been of that Temper, I make no doubt but all that Bloody Rebellion had been prevented, and he had liv'd out his Days an Ornament and Happiness to the Nation.

Meanw. Well, Sir; but I have one more Objection, which I dare say you can give me no Answer to, and that is the extravagant Bill of *Whitaker's*: What think you of that? Must we not say, that if the Ministers let such a Raskally Fellow as that have such a vast Summ of Money, and be contented with such a Blind Account of it, they have not in many other Cases done Things of the like Nature, whereof as yet we are not inform'd?

Kingl. Whitaker is a Man whose Cause I would by no means defend, *quasi* His, because I never had any Opinion of his Integrity. And therefore, what I say in Answer to your Question, must be understood to be only as to the Reasonableness of his Accounts. I had as much indignation against the Ministry, on the first reading that Bill, as you can have; but when I talk'd pretty freely on that account, was oppos'd by some very understanding Gentlemen, who convinc'd me I was in the wrong; for though that Bill appears Monstrous, by putting down the Gross Summs of Twelve Years Business together into one Line; yet if they were to be plac'd by Days and Years, and in single Articles, as to be sure his Accounts were, when they were Pass'd, it would appear quite another thing. The 1094 *l.* 12. *s.* 3 *d.* set down for Travelling Expences, might appear very allowable, if taken to pieces, and every Journey set down a-part. The like may be said of the 2995 *l.* 14 *s.* 11 *d.* for Expences in Summoning Witnesses, finding out Offenders, &c. and so of the rest. 'Tis true, Lawyers have a Rogueish way to set down Coach-hire and Expences much oftner in their Bills, than they pay it out of their Pockets, as every body knows that has the misfortune to have to do with them: And I don't doubt, but Mr. *Whitaker* was acquainted with that Secret of his Trade; however, I have never heard he is grown Richer in the Place than any body else would, in going through so much Business. And indeed those Gentlemen that argu'd the Matter with me, and understood Law-Charges, told me that

that considering what Business was done for it, the Bill to them did not seem so Monstrous. 'Twas he alone Solicited all the Law Business of the Admiralty, and Paid out all the Charges. Now, if we consider that 1293 Ships were Condemn'd, many Pirats brought to Tryal, divers Persons Punished for Imbezilments, and several other things, which come under the Cognizance of the Admiralty, transacted by this one Man their Solicitor; we may, perhaps, entertain a more favourable Opinon of his Bill, without suffering any Disgrace in our Judgment. And the rather, because those Bills passed Year after Year, while the things were fresh in Memory, Regularly through all the Offices, where they were duly Examin'd: And lastly, Allow'd by the Lord's of the *Treasury*, as he alledged when he was before the Parliament last Year. However, as I said before, I have nothing to say in *Whitaker's* Defence; let him be Examin'd and Punish'd, if he deserves it, with all my Heart: But let us not blow up the People to Sedition, by Stories that we do not know the true state of. Things in their first Appearance, often shew vastly different from what they do when duly examin'd into: Witness the Account of the *Prize-Office* last Year, which then appear'd so Defective, that the House of Commons Passed a Bill to Imprison the Commissioners; and yet by *Paschal's* Printed Defence, he Excuses himself very plausibly, and has at the beginning of this Session, given in the Account as Demanded; which, for ought appears, has given Satisfaction.

Meanw.

Meann. You are too hard for me in Argument, and I begin to apprehend that I have been Impos'd upon.

Kingl. I am glad of it, pursue that Thought, and Resume your Ancient Loyalty and Generous Temper. If Evil Men have got into the King's Favour, do you put 'em out, by excelling them in Fidelity and Affectionate Zeal to His and the Nations Service. I put the King's and Nation's Service into the same Breath, because I cannot see by any thing that has pass'd in this Reign, the King has ever attempted any thing to the Nation's Prejudice, or indeed that did not tend to its great Service; as particularly did the late War, which unprejudic'd Posterity will acknowledge, tho' this Ungrateful Generation have no Sense of it. In short, there never was any Government without Faults, ours has as few as any; and no body can say the King has any sinister Intentions: All the Exception against him, being only on account of Party. The Tories think he too much Employs the Whigs; and the Whigs pursue his Interest so Industiously, that it seems he thinks them his best Friends. I am sorry it is so, and heartily wish it otherwise: But since no Innovation is attempted, it becomes Us Church-of-England Men, to live up to our Principles, and on no account sow Sedition among the People. But it grows late, and I ought to take my leave of you; I shall therefore finish the present Discourse, by recommending to your Consideration, the King's Speech, at the opening this present Parliament, wherein he truly shews us the State of our Condition; That it is
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in our Power to secure to our Posterity the Liberty we have Enjoy'd; but how dangerous it is to neglect the present Opportunity. That the Eyes of all *Europe* are upon us, and all Matters at a stand, till our Resolutions are known: Which shews how Eminent a Figure we make in *Europe*, and how much our Power contributes towards its Freedom; and therefore if by Private Animosities the great Work should stand still, not only our selves, but all *Europe* must wear the Fetters of the *French* Monarch. The King also tells us, with respect to the Debts, That he every Year laid the Publick Accounts before the Parliament Passed Bills Annually, during the late War, for Examining 'em, and is very willing to do it again, and permit an Enquiry into the Disposal of the Publick Money. And (Blessed be God) it has had a good Effect; The Parliament have most Honorably pursued the Publick Interest, without any unhappy Differences. Pray God continue that Blessed Harmony, and let no such Pestilent Libellers as *Tom Double*, be ever able to Disturb it. *Adieu.*

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